

premaxy of the Slave Power, it could not
manifested a more vehement interest and
loy. Absolute fealty to the Slave Interest
been the law of its life; and its noble aim
to harmonize Democracy and Slavery.
has failed, it is because its purposes have
beyond all man's endeavors." Still it can
tell Wolsey,

" Our ancestors
Have ever come too short of your desires,
Yet filled with our abilities."
consideration of all this, we feel constrained
and for them, as Cromwell plead for the
minister—

" Men so noble,
Howeever faulty, yet should find respect
For what they have been, and 'Tis a cruelty
To load a falling man."

in, in sympathy with our neighbors, we
most forgotten the Address of the South-

bers of Congress, in behalf of the new party.²⁹ They recognise the important fact that *the Opinion*³⁰ "is the force which has been potent against us in the war now going on at the institution of negro slavery."³¹ With a common origin, a common language, have the English literature ours to a great extent. The British Government has endeavored to mould the public opinion of all who speak the English language, have not been vain. On the contrary, they have been very useful. For whenever the English language is used, it is the language of the dangerous, the base as yet, the South has taken no steps to be heard and plead at the bar of the world, before which she has been summoned, and by which she has been already without a hearing. Secured by constitutional guarantees, and by the support of the world, as far as its domestic institutions concerned, the South has reposed under the consciousness of right and independence, and for the first time has been brought to the attention of the world on this particular subject. It is the duty of the North to be just to the South. It has been theoretically right, but practically we made a great mistake.³²

To understand, then, that the slaveholders

are determined to change their position—that they are about to “appear and plead at the bar of the world”—and, in vindication of their rights, will hold man as property, and take the fruits of his labor without wages, that the new Southern slave system is to be established.

“⁽¹²⁾ say the signers to the address, “as we would believe, Truth is with us, there is nothing to discourage us in such an effort. The eventual success of an opinion is to be measured, not by the number who may entertain it, but by the truth which sustains it. We believe—nay, we are sure, that the Truth is with us, and therefore, should not shrink from the contest.”

It is mainly, though somewhat over-confident, in its tone, and, as such, mistaken, in its judgment.

inquiry could be baffled by naughty Republicans—that Law was a barrier against Moral Reform—that Public Opinion could be silenced by the intolerance. Of Opinion, it may be said, that is the going forth is from the ends of the heavens:—“its circuit unto the ends of it; and there is no hid from the heat thereof?” No Law cannot maintain what Public Opinion steadily commands. But the “Southern organ” must do something more than maintain “the equality, the liberty, the existence of fourteen or fifteen States, or the Confederacy”—“the equality of their political position in the Union”—the right of the non-slaveholding States to be exempt from legislative interference by Congress, or the free States without domestic concerns. On these points it will have no opponents. It must therefore address itself to the task of vindicating the system of slavery, on its own merits, as an institution founded in justice, harmonizing with the Deity, and

of Independence and the principles of Democracy, with the code of Christianity and the age, promotive of the best interests of those who exercise and those who endure the negatives it confers; in a word, eminently adapted to the physical, intellectual, and spiritual development of mankind.

There is another reason why we hail the establishment of this Southern organ. As the slaveholders here have had no special organ, (except the *Union*, which is so deeply intent on faking the truth,) we have been obliged to resort to the common double duty, by publishing on both sides the question. We may now expect to be resolved in this respect; or, at least, perhaps some advantageous arrangement may be made, advantageous to both parties, for the exchange of matters between the two organs of Slavery and Freedom.

Mr. Butler and his associates will acknowledge of our friendly courtesies in the spirit in which they are tendered. Hostility to their object was to be expected from the old establishment here. Even towards us, philanthropists as

our objects, and unlikely as it was that we should interfere with their interests, they have always given the cold shoulder. What, then, do our Southern friends expect, proposing an enterprise which crosses their track? If we can be of any service to them in their enterprise, we hope they will freely command us.

LETTER FROM THE HON. HORACE MANN TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

The Letter from the Hon. Horace Mann to his constituents, published in this week's *Age*, presents a bold and faithful view of the "New Englanders to the Cause of Freedom," chief among which is ranked the position of Mr. Webb on the Territorial Question. The Letter is indeed chiefly devoted to a severe and impartial review of the late speech of that gentleman, and the policy it proclaimed. No one unacquainted with the resolutions recently passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts on the subject of territorial acquisition, and is familiar with the general tenor of the Massachusetts press, can doubt that it is in accordance with the sentiments of the great body of the People of that Commonwealth.

As to one paragraph in the Letter requiring formal and artificial comment. Reviewing the proceedings of the House, at the opening of the session, Mr. Mann remarks—

"Within an hour after the House was organized,

Root of Ohio submitted a resolution, instructing his Committee on Territories to report Territorial bills, prohibiting slavery. Many unfortunates were present, and the resolution was to be moved and unfortunate; and though the House refused, by a handsome vote, to lay the resolution on the table, yet when it came up for consideration again, the first decision was reversed, and the same majority. This was about the time that the friends of the resolution expressed the true sentiment of the House. Not a few voted against the resolution avowedly because of its paternity—supporting a noble son on account of its unobedient father. Others repented of their votes because as they came to reflect that the resolution was not theirs they felt that they could not accompany it.

Mr. Mann leaves it to be inferred that he parted with those who thought the movement of the Root "ill-timed and unfortunate." He acknowledges and shows, however, the deplorable state of laying the resolution on the table. The passage of a document is often received as an

of want of wisdom in its author, while it satisfies everybody that it was well-timed and well-planned. Mr. Root's resolution failed, because it was "ill-timed," but precisely because of some of the Democratic members from the North, who were pledged opponents of the Provisional Government, and of the Whigs from the same section, and the supporters of the President's policy of reconstruction. These were the men who caused the defeat of the resolution: to them it was "ill-timed" in the beginning of the session, and at a period since would they have deemed it well-timed. They stand opposed to the policy contemplated by the resolution, and, therefore, to the resolution itself. Mr. Mann will not urge that the Democratic opponents are "true friends to the country" and, if he claim this praise for its opponents, he will hardly, we think, venture to assume that their friendship has proved

He holds that Mr. Root's resolution proposed a true policy in regard to the territories, and introduced at the right time. The Territories were without government—property and life insecure. It was the duty of Congress to supply what was wanted. The Territories were exempt from sla-